

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SAM-01 OMB-01

CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIE-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 DRC-01 /127 W

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O R 111633Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 490

INFO USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL OPORTO

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

AMEMBASSY ROME

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AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 3907

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PO
SUBJ: SPINOLA SPEECH ATTACKS ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT
AND EXTREMISTS

REF: A) LISBON 3454
B) LISBON 3700
C) LISBON 3575
D) LISBON 3885
E) LISBON A-103

SUMMARY: PRESIDENT SPINOLA DELIVERS HARDEST HITTING
ANTI-EXTREMIST SPEECH TO DATE, ATTACKING TURNOVER OF
POWER IN PORTUGAL AND AFRICAN TERRITORIES TO ONE PARTY
TOTALITARIAN PARTIES, AND PLEDGING USE OF ALL HIS
CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS IN DEFENSE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN
PORTUGAL. VIELED ATTACKS ON LEGITIMACY ARMED FORCES
MOVEMENT (AFM) COORDINATING COMMITTEE MADE, AND
EQUATION OF COMMUNISM WITH FASCISM RAISED. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING ARE HIGHLIGHTS OF MAJOR ADDRESS TO NATION
DELIVERED BY PRESIDENT SPINOLA AT 1730 LOCAL SEPTEMBER 10,
JUST A FEW HOURS AFTER PORTUGUESE FORMAL RECOGNITION
OF INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA-BISSAU:

2. PRESIDENT WELCOMED INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA-BISSAU
AS ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE LUSITANIAN WORLD, REMINDING
NATION THAT HE WHEN GOVERNOR OF GUINEA HAD INSPIRED
"GUINE FOR GUINEANS" MOVEMENT WHICH HAD COME TO FULL
FRUITION TODAY. SPINOLA WENT ON TO ASSERT THAT HE HAD
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ALWAYS DEFENDED THESIS THAT TRUE AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE NOT
POSSIBLE IF PEOPLE SIMPLY HANDED OVER TO ANTI-
DEMOCRATIC FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. PORTUGAL HAS JUST
ESCAPED FROM A NONE-PARTY REGIME, NOTED PRESIDENT, AND
ONE-PARTY REGIMES ARE NOT BY DEFINITION DEMOCRATIC
STRUCTURES. SUCH REGIMES MUST BE EXCLUDED FROM
PORTUGUESE POLITICS, AND WE CANNOT COHERENTLY ACCEPT
THEM IN DECOLONIZATION PROCESS. THEREFORE WE HOPE

THAT PAIGC WILL HONOR RESPONSIBILITIES ASSUMED AS REPRESENTATIVES OF GUINEA PEOPLE. SPINOLA SAID HE CONFIDENT AND CERTAIN THAT LEADERS OF NEW NATION WILL KNOW HOW TO DEFEND DEMOCRACY OF NEW STATE AGAINST ANY NEW COLONIALISMS IN CLIMATE OF PERFECT LIBERTY, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND PROGRESS. IF SUCH A DEFENSE NOT UNDERTAKEN, HOPES OF GUINEANS AND IDEALS INSPIRING PORTUGUESE DECOLONIZATION EFFORTS WILL HAVE BEEN BETRAYED.

3. PRESIDENT THEN DWELT ON DECOLONIZATION PROCESS IN GENERAL TERMS, REMARKING THAT THIS PROCESS DOES NOT ("AS SOME LIGHTLY THINK") CONSIST OF PURELY AND SIMPLY TRANSFERRING POWER TO THOSE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS WHO HAVE CARRIED OUT THE ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST PORTUGAL. WE SUPPORT A DECOLONIZATION WHICH HISTORY WILL FIND WORTHY, AND IN WHICH LIBERTY OF POLITICAL OPTIONS DEFENDED AND INSTITUTIONALIZED, IN WHICH SOCIETY IS SO STRUCTURED THAT TRULY ANTI-COLONIAL SYSTEMS IMPLANTED AND IN WHICH FREEDOM FOR MULTIPARTY DEMOCRACY ASSURED. THOSE WHO CRITICIZE OUR INTRANSIGENT STAND ON BEHALF OF THESE LIBERTIES ARE INTERESTED IN APPROPRIATING POWER IN NAME OF CERTAIN IDEOLOGIES AND THEIR CORRESPONDING TOTALITARIAN REGIMES. RISK OF NEW ENSLAVEMENT OF AFRICAN TERRITORIES BY SUCH TOTALITARIANISMS IS POSSIBILITY WHICH CONSCIENCE OBLIGES DEMOCRATS TO FIGHT AGAINST. AUTHENTIC DECOLONIZATION, WARNED PRESIDENT, DOES NOT RESULT FROM RAPID ABANDONMENT OF OVERSEAS TO ARBITRARY NEW DICTATORS WHO WOULD MAKE NEW STATES SATELLITES OF THIRD PARTIES.

4. FIRST PHASE OF DECOLONIZATION, THAT OF AN END TO BLOODSHED, HAS BEEN ACHIEVED. SECOND STAGE WILL BE RESPONSIBILITY OF THOSE WHO FOUGHT AGAINST US AND WHO NOW ASSUME POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITIES. THIS STAGE
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CONSISTS OF ERECTING EFFICIENT DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS TO SAFEGUARD INTERESTS OF ALL CITIZENS.

5. REGARDING ANGOLA, SPINOLA PLEDGED DECOLONIZATION PROGRAM AS PREVIOUSLY REVEALED BY NATIONAL SALVATION JUNTA (REF A) WILL BE ADHERED TO SINCE WE ARE CERTAIN THAT SCHEDULE BEST DEFENDS INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY THERE.

6. REST OF SPEECH DEVOTED TO ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN PORTUGAL, WHICH HE, AS IN PAST, CHARACTERIZED AS A "SICK" COUNTRY, ONE IN "GRAVE CRISIS" AND VULNERABLE TO "EXTREMISTS ADVENTURES." SPINOLA ASSERTED THAT NATION WITNESSING SYSTEMATIC ASSAULT IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DECISION-MAKING CENTERS

BY GROUPS ON FRINGES OF LEGAL AND INSTITUTIONAL
ORDER. COERCION, MENACE, MYSTIFICATION AND ANTI-
DEMOCRATIC METHODS ARE USED BY THESE OPPORTUNISTS.

7. ARMED FORCES PROGRAM, WHOSE EXECUTION IS SUPREME
RESPONSIBILITY OF PRESIDENT OF REPUBLIC, MAKES CLEAR
THAT FUNDAMENTAL REFORMS IN SOCIETY RESERVED FOR
DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED INSTITUTIONS. HOWEVER, COMPLAINED
PRESIDENT, CERTAIN DE FACTO SITUATIONS ARE BEING CREATED
WHICH PREJUDGE RIGHT OF PEOPLE TO DECIDE THEIR FUTURE.

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 491

INFO USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 3907

8. SPINOLA THEN LAUNCHED INTO AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIALISM, SYAING HE RECOGNIZED CONTRIBUTION OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM TO MODERN POLITICAL SOCIETIES. HE ACCEPTS TRULY DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM, I.E., SOCIALISM AS PRACTICED IN REGIME WHICH ALLOW FOR PLURALITY OF OPINION AND WHICH ARE RESPONSIVE TO WILL OF MAJORITY, BUT NOT SOCIALISM WHICH IS ONLY EUPHEMISM FOR TOTALITARIAN STATE CONTROL. SOCIAL JUSTICE, WHICH HE FAVORS, CAN BE CARRIED OUT IN MANY WAYS WITHOUT OBVIATING ROLE OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE (FISCAL POLICY, BUDGET ORIENTATION, DIRECTION OF ECONOMY, ETC.)

9. CHANGE TOWARDS GOALS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND TRULY DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY MUST BE NIETHER BRUSQUE NOR CONVULSIVE, SINCE SUCH CONVULSIONS CARRY WITHIN THEM SEEDS OF NEW DICTATORSHIPS OF LEFT OR RIGHT. THE "SILENT MAJORITY" MUST WAKE UP AND ACTIVELY DEFEND ITSELF FROM TOTALITARIAN EXTREMISTS LURKIING IN SHADOWS WAITING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CONFUSED AND PERPLEXED POPULATION. AN ANARCHICAL CLIMATE OF UNCONTROLLED DEMANDS IS WHAT SUCH EXTREMISTS SEEK TO PROFIT FROM.

10. PRESIDENT WOUND UP SPEECH BY SAYING MOMENT AT HAND FOR HIM TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY TO STAND FIRM AGAINST THOSE WHO ABUSING LIBERTY. INEPT, CORRUPT, OR VENAL BUREAUCRATS MUST BE REMOVED, PARASTITIC AND UNPRODUCTIVE WORKERS MUST GO, AND OPPORTUNISTIC, AUTOCRATIC OR DEMAGOGIC POLITICANS MUST BE REMOVED. INVOKING

THE ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT PROGRAM, SPINOLA REITERATED THAT EITHER DEMOCRATIZATION BE CARRIED OUT COMPLETELY, OR "FUTURE OF MISERY, BLOOD AND SLAVERY AWAITS US." CONFIDENTIAL

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EXTREMIST REGIMES ONLY LEAD TO EXTREMES. FASCISM WHICH WE HAVE ABOLISHED WAS BASED ON TRILOGY "ONE PEOPLE, ONE PARTY, ONE CHIEF." PORTUGUESE MUST BE ALERT TO ALL REGIMES INSPIRED BY THAT TRILOGY.

11. PRESIDENT IS PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR SEEING AFM PROGRAM OF DEMOCRATIZATION CARRIED OUT. HE WILL NOT ABIDICATE HIS RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS REGARD AND WILL UTILIZE ALL CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS IN HIS POWER IN DEFENSE OF THIS DUTY. HE WILL ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEFENSE OF LIBERTY AGAINST "REACTION OF EXTREME RIGHT AND OPPORTUNISM OF EXTREME LEFT" AND WILL ACCELERATE PROMULGATION OF NEW LAWS, DELAY IN PASSAGE OF WHICH IS MAKING PRESENT SITUATION MORE DIFFICULT.

12. COMMENT: THIS SPEECH IS PRESIDENT'S MOST ASSERTIVE TO DATE AGAINST EXTREMISTS, AND ONLY ONE IN WHICH HE HAS CLEARLY ATTACKED BY NAME FAR LEFTISTS AND FAR RIGHTISTS. NO ONE HAS ACCUSED FAR RIGHT OF SYSTEMATICALLY SEIZING DECISION-MAKING CENTERS, AND REAL TARGET OF SPINOLA'S WARNING IS COMMUNIST PARTY AND GROUPS TO LEFT OF IT, WHO HAVE HIJACKED MUCH OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND WHO CONTROL MEDIA CONTENT.

13. NOTEWORTHY IS SPINOLA'S ASSERTION THAT HE AS PRESIDENT, IS THE MAN RESPONSIBLE FOR OVERSEEING THE AFM PROGRAM. THIS IS AN OPEN CHALLENGE TO LEGITIMACY AND AUTHORITY OF AFM COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHICH IS REFUSING TO DISBAND ON GROUNDS IT IS WATCHDOG OF AFM PROGRAM. POLITICAL CRISIS OF TWO WEEKS AGO TO GREAT EXTENT REVOLVED AROUND QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT THIS COMMITTEE SHOULD BE AOBISHED AND AROUND ISSUE OF WHETHER PROFOUND SOCIAL CHANGES COULD BE CARRIED OUT IN THIS TRANSITORY PHASE BEFORE ELECTIONS. SPINOLA HAS COME DOWN HARD IN THIS SPEECH AGAINST ATTEMPTS BY PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT AND OTHERS TO EFFECT SUCH CHANGES WITH ARGUMENT PEOPLE MUST DECIDE COURSE OF NATION DEMOCRATICALLY IN FUTURE DELECTIONS.

14. PRESIDENT'S THREAT TO USE CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS AT HIS DISPOSAL IN DEFENSE DEMOCRATIC DECISION-MAKING CONFIDENTIAL

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PROCESS SEEN BY EMBASSY AS VEILED THREAT BY HIM TO DISMISS PRIME MINISTER GONCALVES AND CABINET IF THEY PERSIST IN WHAT HE SEES AS ATTEMPTS AT BASIC AND PERHAPS PRECIPITATE SOCIAL CHANGE. MANY PORTUGUESE WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED FORESEE SPINOLA IN NEXT FEW WEEKS DISMISSING CABINET AND INSISTING UPON THE DISSOLUTION OF AFM COORDINATING COMMITTEE. DAO CONFIRMS THERE ARE CURRENTS IN MILITARY ITSELF CALLING FOR JUST THIS (REFS B, C, AND). SOME OBSERVERS BELIEVE RECENT MOZAMBIQUE INCIDENTS WILL STRENGTHEN SPINOLA'S HAND IN THIS STRUGGLE TO EASE AFM COORDINATING COMMITTEE OUT OF EXISTENCE. SUCH OBSERVERS BELIEVE PRESIDENT WILL USE AS ONE ARGUMENT CHARGE THAT PRECIPITATE AND UNDEMOCRATIC DECOLONIZATION WAS FORCED UPON HIM BY AFM COMMITTEE LEADERS WHO WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR LUSAKA ACCORD WHICH LED TO RECENT MOZAMBIQUE EVENTS. (IT SHOULD BE NOTED IN THIS CONTEXT THAT SPINOLA HAD NO KIND WORDS TO SAY IN SPEECH REGARDING FRELIMO OR LUSAKA AGREEMENT.)

15. SPINOLA'S REMARKS ABOUT "CLEANSING" DEMAGOGIC POLITICIANS FROM POLITICAL SCENE, AND HIS NEAR QUATION OF FASCISM WITH COMMUNISM IS SURE TO RAISE STORM OF PROTEST FROM LEFTISTS, WHO WILL PROBABLY NOTE SIMILARITY THIS EQUATION WITH THAT OF CURRENT POSTER CAMPAIGN WITH SAME MESSAGE, AND RECENT REMARKS TO THAT EFFECT BY GALVAO DE MELO (REF E).
SCOTT

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PROVINCE, NEWS MEDIA COMMENTS, SELFDETERMINATION, DEPENDENCY GOVERNMENT, MANDATES (LEAGUE OF NATIONS)
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 SEP 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974LISBON03907
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740253-0553
From: LISBON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740956/aaaabvme.tel
Line Count: 359
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A) LISBON 3454
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAR 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <20 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SPINOLA SPEECH ATTACKS ONE-PARTY GOVERNMENT AND EXTREMISTS
TAGS: PINT, PO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005